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THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS, A REPORT OF A STUDY OF THE TREAMENT OF NEGROES IN AMERICAN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS USED IN GRADES FIVE AND EIGHT AND IN THE HIGH SCHOOLS OF CALIFORNIA'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

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THIS REPORT PRESENTS THE FINDINGS OF A PANEL OF SIX AMERICAN HISTORIANS FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA WHO REVIEWED SEVEN HISTORY TEXTS WIDELY USED IN THE STATE TO ASSESS THEIR TREATMENT OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO. THEY FOUND THAT MOST OF THE TEXTS REFLECTED VIEWS REJECTED OR DRASTICALLY MODIFIED BY GOOD CURRENT HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP. MANY OF THESE VIEWS REINFORCED IDEAS OF WHITE SUPERIORITY AND NEGRO INFERIORITY. THE GREATEST DEFECT IN MOST OF THE BOOKS WAS THEIR VIRTUAL OMISSION OF THE NEGRO. ANOTHER FAILING WAS THE PLAYING DOWN OR IGNORING OF THE LONG HISTORY OF VIOLENCE BETWEEN NEGROES AND WHITES. EACH TEXT IS SEPARATELY EXAMINED. (AF)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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THE NEGRO
IN
AMERICAN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

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A Report of a Study
of the Treatment of Negroes
in American History Textbooks
Used in Grades Five and Eight
and in the High Schools
of California's
Public Schools

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CALIFORNIA STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Max Rafferty, Superintendent of Public Instruction
Sacramento June, 1964

THE NEGRO

IN

AMERICAN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

Prepared by a Panel
of Historians from the
University of California

Kenneth M. Stampp, Chairman

MEMBERS
Winthrop D. Jordan
Lawrence W. Levine
Robert L. Middlekauff
George G. Sellers
George W. Stocking, Jr.

FOREWORD

In late 1963, the Berkeley chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality became interested in the treatment accorded the Negro in the American history textbooks used in California public schools. A panel of historians, all members of the staff of the University of California, Berkeley, was organized to make an analysis of the books. To make its study, the panel selected the American history textbooks adopted for use in grades five and eight of California public schools and two of the textbooks used in the public high schools of the state.

The panel then made an objective analysis of these textbooks to determine the treatment accorded American Negroes, and the results of this analysis were presented in a report entitled "The Negro in American History Textbooks." On March 12, 1964, Professor Kenneth M. Stampp, Chairman of the panel, presented copies to the State Board of Education and discussed the report with the Board.

The State Board of Education, impressed with the work of the panel, directed the Department of Education to provide copies of the report to textbook publishers, the California Curriculum Commission, California schools, and others especially interested in the information.

Max Rafferty

Superintendent of Public Instruction

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INTRODUCTION

A panel of six American historians, members of the History Department of the University of California, Berkeley, have been asked to review the American history textbooks that are most widely used in California from the standpoint of their treatment of Negroes. Attached are individual reports on the two state-adopted textbooks used in grade five, the three state-adopted textbooks used in grade eight, and the two high school textbooks reported to be most widely used in the state. These reports disclose an unhealthy condition in California education.

We are concerned first of all *as historians* that the history taught in our schools should accurately reflect the best findings of current scholarship. Professional scholars are aware that historical "truth" is an elusive quality. Well into the twentieth century professional scholars themselves were affected by the emotional aftermath of the Civil War, and there was a "Northern" and a "Southern" interpretation of such sensitive matters as slavery and Reconstruction. In the late nineteenth-century mood of national reconciliation, based on a widespread assumption of racial superiority among whites in both North and South, the "Southern" view tended to prevail; and the deference of textbook publishers to the special sensitivities of the Southern market has caused it to continue by and large to prevail in textbooks until this day. Meanwhile several generations of scholars, freer of sectional emotions and racist assumptions, through their researchers and writings developed a substantially different understanding of many of these matters. Most of the textbooks we have examined reflect views on racial and sectional themes that have been rejected or drastically modified by the best of current historical scholarship.

We are additionally concerned *as citizens* because these historical distortions help perpetuate and intensify the pattern of racial discrimination which is one of our society's most serious problems. We are concerned not only because much of the material in these books is bad history, but additionally because it is a kind of bad history that reinforces notions among whites of their superiority and among Negroes of their inferiority.

Admittedly there is a danger in assessing historical writing in terms of its social consequences. A laudable desire to combat racism, and especially to bolster self-respect among Negro students, might result in exaggerating Negro contributions and the heroic qualities of Negro figures. In our view this would be an equal distortion of historical truth, and in the long run would fail to have the desired social effects.

We do feel, however, that the seriousness of the problem of racism underscores the textbook author's responsibility to portray the Negro's role in American life fully, accurately, and without either sentimentality or condescension. There should be a conscious effort to portray out-

standing Negro figures selected by the same criterion of historical significance applied to non-Negro figures. Even those textbooks that now make some effort in this direction tend to single out men like Booker T. Washington and the minor scientist George Washington Carver, whose attitudes about race relations are least disturbing to conservative whites. Equally or more worthy of inclusion by the standard of historical relevance are men like Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner, Frederick Douglass, W. E. B. DuBois, and the Reverend Martin Luther King.

Always and everywhere our children should be told the truth, and the whole truth, as near as the best current scholarship can bring us to this elusive quality. This means, among other things, not obscuring the harsher aspects of the truth—the fact that Negroes entered American society as slaves, the brutalities of slavery, the racism of the Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction era, and the continuing depth and harshness of the problem of segregation and discrimination.

In the light of these general principles, the greatest defect in the textbooks we have examined is the virtual omission of the Negro. As several of the individual reports point out, the Negro does not "exist" in the books. The authors of the books must know that there are Negroes in America, and have been since 1619, but they evidently do not care to mention them too frequently. In one book there is no account of slavery in the colonial period; in a second, there is not a single word about Negroes after the Civil War; in a third (composed of documents and substantive chapters), the narrative does not mention Negroes in any connection.

As Ralph Ellison's novel, *Invisible Man,* demonstrates, whites frequently do not "see" Negroes. But Negroes are Americans; their history is part of American history. They need to be "seen" in textbooks. The space given Negro history will, of course, depend in part on the nature of the textbook, and minimum standards of coverage are proposed later in this report. What is especially important is that the discussions of Negroes appear as an integral part of the book. Perfunctory or casual treatment may imply that Negroes are not part of America.

Important aspects of Negro experience, of course, depart from that of many other groups in America. Negroes were not just another immigrant group; no other group could be so readily identified by its color, no other group was so systematically enslaved, and no other group has been subjected to as persistent and virulent discrimination. From the seventeenth century to our own day, Negro life has been filled with violence.

These facts highlight another failing of these textbooks that is almost as distressing as the invisibility of Negroes in them. All the texts play down or ignore the long history of violence between Negroes and whites, suggesting in different ways that racial contacts have been distinguished by a progressive harmony. The tone of a textbook is almost as important as anything it has to say. In their blandness and amoral optimism, these books implicitly deny the obvious deprivations suffered by Negroes. In several places they go further, implying approval for

the repression of Negroes or patronizing them as being unqualified for life in a free society.

We should now like to suggest in some detail the substantive and interpretive elements relating to Negroes that should be included in textbooks covering the whole period of American history. These suggestions do not reflect any effort to give a special emphasis for the purpose of present-day social effects, but only what is necessary for portraying accurately the Negro's role as understood by current scholarship. We regard the suggested content as an indispensable minimum at the junior high level. Some compression would doubtless be necessary at the elementary level, while high school treatment should be expanded beyond our suggested content.

Early in the seventeenth century Negroes were brought by force from Africa to the English colonies, and over the next 50 years whites in the colonies reduced them to a slavery that was inherited and perpetual. The Negro incurred debasement because he was different, particularly because he was "heathen," black, and helpless. Other colonials entered types of servitude, but their arrangements were usually contractual, their rights were protected by the state, their physical and moral treatment was much better, and their status was temporary. Not even the American Indian, whose exploitation began in the seventeenth century, was reduced to slavery on a substantial scale. Textbooks should tell this story from its African beginnings, through the slave trade, to the enslavement of the Negro.

As the history of the origin of Negro slavery is important, so also is an understanding of slavery as a mature institution in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Students should know that it existed in the North until after the Revolution. Textbooks should supply the most important statistics; for example, that in 1860 there were four million slaves in the United States, virtually all located in the South. Although a majority of Southern whites held no slaves, one out of every two persons in the South's fourteen million people was either a slave or a member of a slaveholding family.

There should be a full account of the life of the slave, starting from the fact that he was an article of property held for the profit that could be gained from his labor. Recent scholarship has shown that slaves labored in Southern factories as well as fields. They were often overworked, and customarily housed, clothed, and fed at only a subsistence level. As a result the slave was often ill, and his life expectancy was shorter than that of the whites around him. His master could punish or sell him at will, and could even kill him with near impunity, since slaves were not allowed to testify against white men. The informal character of slave marriages made for an unstable family life; and the whole pattern of debasement under slavery inflicted psychological and sociological scars from which Negroes still suffer.

Understandably the slave resented, even hated, his condition, though he usually disguised his real feelings by subservient behavior designed to protect him from the master's power. Students should be told that

slaves often ran away, committed sabotage, and plotted revolts, and on one occasion a slave, Nat Turner, led a bloody general insurrection against the masters.

Slavery's moral and social evil did not go unremarked in the colonial period. The Quakers, for example, insisted that slavery violated both human dignity and divine law. Not until the Revolution, however, did most Americans become sensitive to the discrepancy between slavery and their professed ideals as embodied in the Declaration of Independence. All the states north of Delaware put the institution on the road to extinction, slavery was banned from the Old Northwest, and the Constitutional Convention opened the way for abolition of the slave trade after 1808. Even in the upper South, where the tobacco economy was languishing, liberal leaders hoped that the gradual operation of economic forces would eventually permit the abolition of slavery. Instead, the developing cotton market revived plantation agriculture. Slaves proved so productive in Southern cotton fields that slaveowners shut their ears to any criticism of the institution until the Civil War brought its demise.

Meanwhile antislavery sentiment was growing in the North. Even here racist assumptions caused free Negroes to be segregated and discriminated against, but after 1830 a vocal abolitionist movement had increasing effect. The efforts of the abolitionists, who included a substantial body of Northern free Negroes, deserve serious and sympathetic exposition in textbooks. They are often derided for their occasional extravagance and for their internal disagreements, yet the fact is that they performed an immense service in educating Americans to the moral evils of slavery.

Abolitionists are frequently blamed for the Civil War by people who also insist that slavery had nothing to do with the coming of the war, that indeed the South fought to preserve state rights. Most scholars today agree, however, that slavery, and especially the issue of extending slavery into the territories, was fundamental. Certainly a careful appraisal of the slavery issue in national politics should be included in any textbook covering this period.

When the Civil War came, some 200,000 Negroes participated in the fighting that resulted in their formal emancipation. Following the war they also took an important part in the struggle over Southern Reconstruction, which determined whether their emancipation was to be nominal or full. Reconstruction is a controversial issue in American history. The best scholarship today portrays sympathetically the radical Republicans in Congress, who opposed Lincoln's and later Johnson's plans for bringing the Southern states back into the Union as quickly and painlessly as possible under conservative white leadership. The radicals, this scholarship holds, operated from mixed motives: to be sure they were interested in maintaining their political advantage, but they also wished to reform the structure of Southern life. They especially wanted to help the Negro make himself a full partner in a free society.

It is in treating the Reconstruction state governments in the South that the older scholarship is most distorted by racist assumptions and most pernicious in its present-day effects. Modern scholarship overwhelmingly rejects the myth of Reconstruction as a saturnalia of misgovernment and corruption by ignorant and/or venal carpetbaggers, Negroes, and scalawags. Though the Reconstruction regimes had their quota of corruption, as did most other American governmental units in this period, the student needs to know that the radical Republican experiment for a time made progress toward a healthy reconstruction of Southern society, that many Negroes served ably in the Reconstruction governments, and that the Reconstruction governments had many constructive accomplishments, particularly the extension of the public school system, and the protection of equal civil and political rights of all.

The experiment in Reconstruction failed after a few years, owing to a growing Northern indifference which permitted conservative Southern whites to regain control by violence through such agencies as the Ku Klux Klan. Soon Negroes had been reduced to a kind of unofficial slavery. The vote was taken from them, first by trickery and intimidation and later by amendments to the state constitutions. Denied economic opportunity, many were exploited as sharecroppers, and others in menial jobs. By the end of the century, they were born and reared in segregated communities, and they lived and died in a state of inequality, isolated from the mainstream of American life. Southern state laws and a disastrous Supreme Court decision, *Plessy vs. Ferguson* (1896), helped encase them in segregation.

Segregation and violence continued to characterize race relations in the South during the first half of the twentieth century. The hundreds of lynchings which used to occur annually have almost disappeared, but bombings, burnings, and shootings have increased. A more important change has been the movement of millions of Negroes to the cities and to the North. Here repression has been somewhat more subtle but only somewhat less damaging. Employers and unions relegate most Negroes to menial jobs. They are segregated into ghettoes where they pay high rents for slum housing. Segregated housing means in turn segregated and inferior schools.

The other side of the story is the increasingly vigorous effort, especially by Negroes themselves, to change the situation. The growing Negro vote in crucial Northern cities and the cold-war campaign to win the support of the uncommitted nations of the world has made the federal government more responsive to the plight of Negroes. Prodded by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the federal courts began to declare in the 1930s and 1940s against racial discrimination in voting, jury service, and educational opportunities. This movement culminated in the Brown decision of 1954 *(Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka)* outlawing racial segregation in the public schools. Meanwhile the executive branch of the federal government had begun to move against segregation and

discrimination in the armed forces and in civil service employment. Some state legislatures acted against discrimination in housing and employment, and Congress took its first cautious steps since Reconstruction to advance civil rights.

In the years since the Brown decision, a civil rights mass movement has taken shape among Negroes, utilizing the tactics of nonviolent direct action to demand immediate and full equality in all areas. The Reverend Martin Luther King led Negroes of Montgomery, Alabama, in a year-long boycott of the city's segregated bus system. Negro college students launched "sit-in's" throughout the South in a movement that ended segregation at lunch counters and other public facilities in hundreds of Southern communities. "Freedom riders" gave effect to court decisions outlawing segregaton in transportation facilities. By 1963 mass demonstrations for equality in public facilities, jobs, education, and housing had spread from the South to many Northern cities, and over 200,000 people joined a "March on Washington" in support of former President John F. Kennedy's proposal that Congress pass a substantial civil rights bill. These efforts were pursued in the face of mob violence, the arrests of thousands of demonstrators, the assassination of an NAACP leader in Mississippi, and the death of four Negro girls in the bombing of a Birmingham church.

This civil rights revolution seems to us to be one of the major historical events of the mid-twentieth century and to demand full treatment in any American history textbook. The gains that have been made should be described realistically and not as an ode to the inevitable justice and progress of the democratic system. It should be made clear that the outcome of the civil rights struggle is still in doubt and that the inequalities are so great as to defy quick remedy by even the most vigorous effort.

In the midst of this civil rights revolution, historians and educators have a clear responsibility, at the very least, to see to it that the role of Negroes in American life is taught fully and accurately. We have tried to indicate what a minimally full and accurate textbook account should be. Surely the state of California can no longer tolerate textbooks that fall far short of this minimal standard.

Trail Blazers of American History [1]

By Charles G. Sellers [2]

This book is a series of biographical stories about 25 outstanding Americans, arranged topically and chronologically so as to provide a general account of American history. The authors have made a special effort to include minority groups, devoting one of their stories to George Washington Carver and making clear the moral basis of the opposition to slavery. Yet even this well-intended effort leaves a great deal to be desired.

The basic problem is that Negroes are completely invisible except in the Carver story and in the section on the Civil War, where the existence of slavery could hardly be ignored. The unit on colonization has a story on John Smith and the founding of Virginia, which might well have discussed the introduction of slavery. But instead, readers of this book get the impression that the settlers of colonial America were entirely from Europe. As far along as page 91 in the introduction to the unit on the Revolution, the following language is used: "You have learned how it happened that Europeans came to live in America . . . At first the colonists thought of themselves as Englishmen, not Americans." This unit discusses Washington's boyhood on a plantation (he "lived on a large farm called a plantation," page 116) and his later management of Mount Vernon without any reference to the presence of slaves.

In fact Negroes or slaves are not mentioned at all in the book until page 187, where Lincoln encounters slavery on his trip to New Orleans. This is in a unit on the Civil War consisting of stories about Lincoln and Lee. This unit emphasizes that both Lincoln and Lee opposed slavery, implies that Southerners maintained the institution because they "depended upon slaves to do the work" on their cotton plantations, and even suggests the worst aspects of slavery by reporting that in New Orleans young Lincoln "saw Negroes chained together." This section continues (page 187): "Abe was a kind-hearted young man. It made him feel sad to see the slaves. 'I do not believe in slavery,' he thought. 'It must be hard to be a slave, even if your owner is kind. It would be terrible not to be free.'" (The suggestion that owners were usually kind is made again when Lee is reported as saying to his wife (page 202), "They are our slaves, and we take good care of them.

[1] Miriam E. Mason and William H. Cartwright, *Trail Blazers of American History*. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1961. This is a supplementary textbook for grade five.

[2] Professor Sellers has written numerous articles for scholarly journals, is the author of a biography of James Knox Polk, and has edited *The Southerner as American*, a collection of essays. He is a member of the Executive Committee of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, a professional society of American historians, and of the Board of Editors of the *Journal of Southern History*. Mr. Sellers has been a Professor at Princeton University and a Fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford. He is now on leave from the University of California as a Guggenheim Fellow.

But if anything should happen to me, I would like to have our slaves set free.")

Yet even the Civil War section suffers from the book's persistent dodging of conflict and controversy, its unflagging commitment to a thesis of harmonious progress. The unit on the Civil War is introduced by the following statement (page 183): "As our country grew, people in different parts of it came to have different ways of thinking about some of their problems. These differences led to quarrels and finally to another terrible war. This was called the War between the States. But when the war was over, men and women in all parts of the country worked together again to make America great and strong." (Cf. page 192, "This was is now known as the War between the States or the Civil War.")

It should be no surprise then that the Negro drops completely from view with the Emancipation Proclamation, not to reappear at all except in the Carver story. Here again the ugly realities of race relations are completely obscured. It is explained several times that Carver had great difficulty finding a school he could go to and a college he could go to, but there is no explanation of why he had difficulty. Tuskegee is described (page 251) as "a college in Alabama especially for Negro students," with no further explanation. The only general statement about the conditions of life for Negroes is a statement imputed to Carver (page 251): "Many people of my race are poor. They have little to eat." The only statement suggesting a "race problem" is quoted from a citation in praise of Carver (page 253): " 'You have done much for the white people as well as for the Negroes,' he was told. 'You are a bridge between the two races.' "

While recognizing the authors' praiseworthy effort to include an outstanding Negro, I question whether Carver is the most appropriate figure to use. Carver deserves to be held up for emulation on account of his moral qualities, but the contention that his scientific work was distinguished or had any substantial effect on Southern agriculture is by and large a sentimental myth. Moreover both his Tuskegee connection and the story line of his life are implicit arguments for Booker T. Washington's questionable philosophy of race salvation through humility and hard work.

The basic fault of this book, as of many others, is its effort to purvey a sweetness-and-light picture of American history that is both false and vicious in its effects. Children, both black and white, need to know that through the institution of slavery Negroes were a major element in American life from the very beginning. They need to know what slavery was like before the Civil War and what it has been like to live under the "new peculiar institution" of segregation and discrimination since the Civil War. They need to know that Negroes, despite the handicaps imposed upon them, produced leaders who fought for justice and equality. For the purposes of this book a figure like Frederick Douglass would have been much more representative of what has been best and most important in American Negro life.

The Story of American Freedom [1]

By George W. Stocking, Jr.[2]

Since my comments will serve only as partial basis for a later integrated report, it seemed appropriate to offer them in unintegrated topical form.

Despite the suggestion on page 229 that slavery was "a way of life," it is in fact treated in narrow, sterile, and naively economic terms as a labor system pure and simple. Witness the definition on page 161: "Such a system of securing workers through ownership is called *slavery.*" The major account of its development (pages 229-30) is couched in a similar framework: "A new country needs workers. . . . [The English] met this need in two ways. . . . [Although the first Negroes were bound servants], slavery later became common. . . . Slavery increased in the South, where it met a need for workers . . . [on] large plantations where only one crop was grown. . . . [The cotton gin increased the need for workers, which] brought an increase in slavery." The information offered as to its extent is at best misleading. The statement that it was "accepted in the South" is supplemented by the fact that many Southerners did not own slaves and that there were 18,000 free Negroes in New Orleans alone. Since this is the only numerical statement having to do with slavery in the whole book, one cannot help wondering if it was not intended to minimize the magnitude of the problem. As to the character of the slave system as "a way of life," we are given no more than incidental clues. On page 149 we are told that Negro women and children rode in wagons to Mississippi while the slave men walked; on page 165, that Negro slaves sometimes ran away to Florida; on page 230, that slaves "often ran away." But there is no inkling of the reasons why they might have run away, no mention of the slave trade, of the problems of discipline and order, no indication that Negro resistance to slavery ever took any other form than individual escape, no suggestion of the social or psychological meaning of slavery either for the Negro or the Southern white beyond the idea that the difference in labor systems was at the root of sectional conflict.

Abolition, Civil War, and Reconstruction

One feels that this book treads a very narrow course between a dominant traditional concern for Southern prejudices and a dawning con-

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[1] Edna McGuire, *The Story of American Freedom.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1961. This is a basic textbook for grade five.

[2] Professor Stocking, a student of American social and cultural history, is a Fellow of the American Anthropological Association. He has written articles on the ideas of race and culture, and presently holds a fellowship from the American Council of Learned Societies to complete a book on *Race and Culture in American Social Science, 1890–1915.*

sciousness of the commercial significance of Negro-liberal sensitivities. If there is no attempt to justify slavery in other than economic terms, no repetition of the customary suggestion that Negroes worked better in the sun, neither is there any adequate indication of the moral implications of slavery. True, at one point it is suggested that "many people thought that slavery was wrong" (page 230), but we are given no clue why. And far from indicating that opposition to slavery expressed the moral spirit of our modern democratic-industrial culture, the book suggests in effect that the Northern opponents of slavery were irresponsible trouble-makers whose views had no relation to the irresistible moral currents of their time: "Many people thought that slavery was right. But certain other people thought that slavery was very wrong" (page 220). "Some Northerners [by attacking it] . . . stirred up differences between the American people" (page 230). Indeed, the only person who would seem to be permitted a legitimate and intense moral opposition to slavery is R. E. Lee, who, for reasons unknown, "hated slavery" and freed his own slaves (page 240).

A similar excessive concern for Southern feelings is evident in regard to the war which began in 1861: "It is called the War Between the States. It is often [but not in this book] called the Civil War" (page 229). This, of course, exactly reverses the priorities of actual historical and even popular usage. The distortion is minor, but nonetheless indicative. As to the war itself, my main observation would be that there is no mention whatsoever of the considerable Negro participation in the Union armies.

The rather confusing one-page discussion of Reconstruction and after (page 244) perpetuates a number of traditional anti-Radical views: the men "who wanted to punish the South" passed laws "neither wise nor generous" and "several years of confusion followed." There is no mention of Black Code or Ku Klux Klan. Both the public school system and the breakup of the plantation system are by implication incorrectly attributed to the Redeemers. The New South is created in a phrase, the post-Reconstruction fate of Negroes disposed of with the laconic suggestion that they "learned to take care of themselves."

The Negro in Modern America

Once slavery is disposed of on page 244, the treatment of the Negro changes radically. He disappears completely as the focus of a moral or social problem. There is no mention of the Jim Crow system, of the school segregation cases, or of the modern Negro movement for equality, though the book (published in 1961) carries right on up through Khrushchev to Castro. On the other hand, it is only after the Civil War and the abolition of slavery that Negroes emerge as distinguishable human individuals. Even so, only three Negroes are actually named in the whole book: Percy Julian and G. W. Carver, who receive brief biographies, and B. T. Washington, who is mentioned in the second of these as the founder of Tuskegee. But if Julian and Carver are "sympathetic" characters touched by the heroic aura surrounding all

scientists in our society, their biographies are virtually devoid of specifically racial significance. And whether by chance or design, these two are juxtaposed in separation from the biographies of white scientists (pages 298-300).

Beyond the Text Itself

In this lavishly illustrated book, there is only one picture (of the Tuskegee laboratory, page 300) which contains people who are obviously Negro. There is also on page 345 a small picture entitled "Negroes permitted to vote by Constitutional amendment—1870" in which two of the white-skinned figures might be identified as Negro by their costume and slightly Negroid characteristics. But beyond this, the Negro is invisible, even in the scene of life on a tobacco plantation (page 93). In the numerous exercises at the ends of chapters and sections, I was able to find less than a handful of questions or activities which related to the Negro. On page 165, "slavery" is one of a list of words to master—but one looks in vain for the words "segregation," "discrimination," or "integration," though they are no more difficult than many others in the book. Aside from a general "How did each event pictured help democracy grow?" under the aforementioned picture on page 345, the only "questions for thought" having to do remotely with the Negro is one on page 245: "Why did slavery grow in the South and die out in the North?" In the context provided, this question can only help to reinforce a generally amoral approach to slavery and its consequences. In the section, "Making History Live," the only suggestion relating to the Negro is one on page 279 that students learn to sing some of the "beautiful songs called spirituals" which "the Negroes have given us" (consider the implication of the phrasing). Among the many books suggested for those who like to read, there is not one whose title indicates any relation to the Negro, unless it be Carl Sandburg's *Abe Lincoln Grows Up.*

Internal Evidence of Possible Alternative Approaches

When I read the unelaborated suggestion on page 175 that their "neighbors objected to certain" Mormon beliefs, it occurred to me that much of the treatment of the Negro might be explained simply as product of a general desire to avoid *any* potential controversy. But in this text, at least, this is not the case. The section between pages 305 and 316, "Life in Modern America," is in effect a discussion of a series of social issues in industrial America. If the treatment is insipid, the issues are nevertheless posed in normative terms (e.g., immigrants lived in "crowded, dark houses" and were sometimes "forced to work for very low pay," page 307). If most of the problems are now safely in the past of historical consensus, some of them are still matters of current debate: e.g., that of adequate schools for America's growing population. It certainly would have been possible to include in this chapter, perhaps under the section "Saving America's Human Wealth," some treatment of the problems of integration.

Other alternatives are suggested by the treatment of the American Indian (see especially pages 253-57). An attempt is made here to present the Indian in both cultural and moral terms. "To understand the Indians on the last frontier, you need to know something of early Indians"—and we are given a picture of the variety of Indian cultural forms. There is some suggestion of the history of violence and double-dealing which reduced the Indian to reservation life, and even a discussion of present social problems in this historical context: "Some Indian tribes have a difficult time today. They cannot make a living on their land. Their people have not had the training or help to make it possible for them to earn the things they need." The justice of the Indian resistance to the white advance is explicitly posed as a "questions for thought." Students are elsewhere urged to choose among individual Indian chiefs as subjects for library research and class report (page 279). While the role of the Negro and the Indian in American history and their positions in modern life are in many respects quite different, the utility of analogous approaches would seem obvious, both in more accurately portraying the Negro's historical role and in giving to both Negro and white children the sense of respect for self and fellow citizen which underlies the creation of a broader national identity.

America Is My Country: The Heritage of a Free People [1]

By Kenneth M. Stampp [2]

About half of the book is devoted to teaching children how "We Americans Honor the Symbols of Our Democracy" (the flag, the American eagle, the Statue of Liberty, etc.); which are "The Patriotic Landmarks and Monuments Every American Should Know" (Washington Monument, Lincoln Memorial, Mount Vernon, etc.); which are the best-known "Patriotic Poems and Songs for Americans" ("Old Ironsides," "I Am an American," etc.); and which are "The Patriotic Holidays that Americans Celebrate."

The substantive chapters are the following:

1. What It Means to Be an American
3. Our Documents of Freedom
4. Uncle Sam's Government in Washington
5. Washington, Capital of Our Nation
7. Great Americans Express the Spirit of Our Nation
10. Good Americans Make Democracy Work

How the Negro fares in these six chapters is easily described: he doesn't exist—he is never mentioned. He doesn't appear in the index; and, although the book is profusely illustrated, he does not appear in any of the photographs. The explanation for this is not white chauvinism but timidity—the desire not to offend anyone. Since this book was first published in 1955, it was still possible not to be too concerned about offending Negroes.

Actually, the book exudes a vague sort of good will toward all men. On page 3 there is this statement: "We Americans are different in a very important way from the people of most countries. . . . [Unlike other countries] we Americans do not come from one national stock. We are descended from people of many nationalities—English, Scotch, Irish, German, Scandinavian, Italian, Polish, Russian, and so on. . . . We believe that our country is stronger and richer and more vigorous because our people come from many lands." The omission of Negroes, Asians, and Indians in this statement is an example of the timidity characteristic of this book.

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[1] Harriett M. Brown and Joseph F. Guadagnolo, *America Is My Country: The Heritage of a Free People.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1961. This is a supplementary textbook for grade eight.

[2] Professor Stampp, chairman of the panel, teaches history of the Civil War and Reconstruction at the University of California and is the author of *The Peculiar Institution*, the definitive work on slavery in the United States. He is on the Executive Committee of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. Formerly Mr. Stampp taught in the South, served on the Executive Committee of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and was a Guggenheim Fellow. He was also Harmsworth Professor of American History at Oxford University and Commonwealth Fund Lecturer at the University of London.

On pages 7 and 8 is this statement about equality: "Under our Constitution and our laws all citizens have equal rights. . . . It makes no difference what a man does for a living, to what race or religion he belongs, or how much money he has—he is the equal of any other citizen in the eyes of the law. . . . We Americans believe that everyone should have an opportunity to get an education and a job, and the chance to make a decent life for himself and his family. We have done a great deal to make these things possible for all Americans. Although some of our people still do not enjoy equal opportunities, we are working toward our ideal of 'liberty and justice for all.'" Again, timidity accounts for the vagueness of this statement.

In Chapter 3, which deals with "Our Documents of Freedom," one statement (page 55) concerning "What Should We Know About Our Constitution" declares: "We should know that no American can be refused the right to vote because of race, religion, or color." This, of course, is a vague and inaccurate reference to the Fifteenth Amendment. The following "documents of freedom" are completely ignored: Thirteenth Amendment; Fourteenth Amendment; Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation; the Supreme Court decision of 1954 *(Brown vs. Board of Education, Topeka)*.

Chapter 7, "Great Americans Express the Spirit of Our Nation," is a medley of well-known quotations from Lincoln, Webster, Washington, Patrick Henry, etc. A portion of Lincoln's second inaugural address is included, with the passage referring to slavery omitted. Indeed, there is no quotation with any reference to slavery, to emancipation, or to the post-Civil War struggle for civil rights.

Chapter 10, "Good Americans Make Democracy Work," devotes more space to how to fight Communism than to any other topic. One might expect at least a brief discussion of the problem of race relations in this chapter, but the authors ignore the problem. On page 207 they make this astonishing statement: "Today almost all men and women over twenty-one have the right to vote, regardless of their race or their color or whether they are property owners." But elsewhere in this chapter there are additional vague statements which are good in themselves but are not related to anything specific. On page 208: "We believe that every person deserves respect as a human being, no matter who he is. We believe in fair play and in justice for all." On page 209: "Respect for the rights of others is part of our way of life in our democracy."

On page 218: "We must remember that it is not possible for any government to be perfect. Government officials are human beings, and all humans make errors. Citizens may also criticize our democracy because there are still Americans who are not given equal rights in the community where they live. . . ."

At the very end of the book are two relatively bold statements, if still somewhat vague:

Page 220: "We are a land of many races and nationalities, and we are proud that this is so. This is the wonderful and different thing

about America. . . . There is no room in our way of life for racial prejudice. We are all Americans, living and working together in this great democracy of ours."

Page 222: Part of "A Pledge for Americans": "I will judge a person by what he is, not by his race or religion. I will not let prejudice affect my ideas of justice and fair play."

The Growth of America [1]

By Lawrence W. Levine [2]

The first mention of Negroes in this book is with relation to their introduction into Virginia "as slaves" in 1619. There is no mention of where they came from nor is the continent of Africa mentioned once in this book. At no time in the discussion of slavery is there any attempt to explain what slavery actually was or how it differed from other labor systems such as indentured servitude which receives several paragraphs. The reasons given for the introduction of slavery are wholly economic: "No one person could do by himself all the work that was necessary for growing crops on such a large piece of land, so the Southern planter had slaves to help him" (page 78). There is no attempt to explain why slavery was wholly *Negro* slavery. This seems to be taken for granted. In the rather extended discussion of the colonial plantation economy there is no direct description of the life and condition of the slaves though there is a strong intimation that it was quite decent.

> The slaves did most of the work, but the plantation owner worked too. . . . He had to see that his family was well provided for and also that there was enough food and clothing for his slaves. Not many planters neglected their slaves, since each one represented a great deal of money. . . . The planter's wife . . . saw to it . . . that the health of her family and of the slaves was good (pages 78-79).

The only comment that can even remotely be construed as a criticism of slavery is this stark one-sentence paragraph which appears in a discussion of colonial education: "For the slave population there was no education" (page 86). There are no reasons given for this nor are the consequences of the lack of education pointed out. There is no further mention of slavery or the Negro during the colonial period or the Revolution or the early national period though in the section on Ante-Bellum America there is mention of the fact that the Northern states abolished slavery (no dates or reasons are given) and that such leaders as Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Madison, and Henry opposed slavery (again no reasons are given).

The treatment of slavery in the section dealing with the causes of the Civil War (which is quaintly titled "WE DECIDE TO SEPARATE and then to UNITE") is as vague as it was in the earlier parts of this

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[1] Rebekah R. Liebman and Gertrude A. Young, *The Growth of America*. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1959. This is a supplementary book for grade eight.

[2] Professor Levine teaches recent United States history at the University of California. Before assuming his position at Berkeley, he served on the faculties of City College of New York and Princeton University. He has written a book on William Jennings Bryan which will be published next year. Mr. Levine is currently studying Negro protest movements in the twentieth century.

text. Again there is absolutely no description of slavery as an institution or a way of life, and the term "slave" itself is nowhere defined. All that is mentioned is that the South was convinced that slavery was absolutely necessary to the maintenance of their economy, and a group of people in the North called abolitionists felt that slavery was an evil. But there is not even a hint of the reasons for the latter's antipathy to slavery. Indeed, if anything, the authors' treatment of slavery can be called favorable. In a subsection entitled "UNCLE TOM'S CABIN CAUSES TROUBLE," they have this to say of Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel:

> It told of the sufferings of the slaves of the South and of the cruelty of the slave owners.
>
> Actually *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was not a fair nor a truthful picture of the conditions of the slaves. Although some slaves may have been badly treated, for the most part, they were not.
>
> Slaves represented a great deal of money to their owners, and their owners took care of them. There was also in many cases a close feeling between the slaves and their masters which the Abolitionists did not understand (page 288).

The treatment of the events leading up to the Civil War is generally brief and inadequate. The Dred Scott Decision (*Dred Scott vs. Sandford,* 1857) for instance is described as follows:

> The Supreme Court of the United States decided two things: (1) that Dred Scott was still a slave, and (2) that a slave owner had a right to take his slaves to any part of the country where there were no laws against slavery (page 290).

The part of the decision which most upset the North—that Congress could take no action with relation to slavery in the territories—is completely ignored.

The treatment of the Civil War (which in these pages is almost invariably called The War Between the States) focuses mainly upon military events; however, this novel and fanciful account of the origins of the Emancipation Proclamation is given:

> During the war the people of the South had been using their slaves to do many jobs which helped in the war effort. They cooked for the army, dug trenches, drove wagons.
>
> The leaders in the North said that something should be done to stop this use of slaves. Lincoln's answer was the Emancipation Proclamation (pages 307-309).

There is no mention of the participation of the Negro in the Northern war effort.

The brief treatment of Reconstruction is the standard anti-Radical Republican pro-Southern Democrat account. Again there is no attempt to describe the condition of the freedmen. The Thirteenth and Fourteenth amendments are mentioned without comment, and the Fifteenth is described with an obvious lack of approval:

> The right to vote or to hold office was not given to the leaders of the Confederacy. However, the Negroes were given these rights,

although few of the Negroes could read or write; and none had any experience in government (pages 318-319).

There is no description of the advances in civil rights made under Reconstruction governments though the corruption of the carpetbaggers is vaguely described. There is also this totally amoral account of the Ku Klux Klan:

> The purpose of the Ku Klux Klan was to frighten the Negroes and the people who were in control of the Southern state legislatures. The organization lasted for a time; but as the Southern states became once more part of the Union, *there was no longer any reason* for the existence of an organization such as the Ku Klux Klan (pages 319-320). (Italics mine)

Why there was no longer any reason for the Klan and precisely what happened to the Negro after Reconstruction is not explained. Indeed, this is the last mention of the Negro in this text. Although the book was published in 1959 and mentions events as recent as the launching of American space satellites in 1958, there is not one word about the civil rights movement, the migration of Negroes to the North, the condition of Negroes in the twentieth century, or the Supreme Court's 1954 Brown decision. After Reconstruction, the Negro, who was treated vaguely enough up till then, becomes wholly invisible.

The striking things about this volume is the dehumanized way in which Negroes are treated. They are mentioned only in the institutional setting of slavery, and there inadequately, but never as human beings; their way of life, their problems, their gains, their struggles are totally ignored. Not one Negro individual is named with the exception of Dred Scott. Words like "segregation," "desegregation," and "integration" do not appear once anywhere in this account. In a book which has two or three illustrations on every page, there are only two illustrations depicting Negroes, both of them during slavery.

It should be mentioned that the authors are not morally obtuse or unwilling to take a stand on every issue. Thus they criticize the manner in which the Mormons were treated and describe their hardships (page 263); they describe the often inhuman conditions of early factories, the plight of the workers, and justify the rise of labor unions (pages 275-276); the American Indians are treated sympathetically, and the treatment accorded them by the white settlers is criticized (page 336); the immigrants are treated with a bit less sympathy, but at least their plight is described (pages 360-361). The authors' treatment of the Negro, therefore, is not typical of their treatment of a number of other groups which have been victims of intolerance. The Negro above all is singled out not only for unsympathetic and inadequate treatment but for nontreatment.

Story of the American Nation [1]

By Winthrop D. Jordan [2]

While the treatment of Negroes in this eighth grade American history textbook may be faulted at almost every turn, virtually all the myriad failings derive from four interrelated presuppositions.

The most pervasive and insidious (because least conscious) assumption is that Negroes are not American; they do not share in the *Story of the American Nation* because, evidently, they are not part of the "American people." This assumption colors every mention and nonmention of Negroes in the book. It is responsible for the failure to describe the African cultural background (though the civilizations of China and Japan are fulsomely portrayed, pages 508-9) and for the absence of any discussion of Negro acculturation. (There were "Jewish people" and Roman Catholics, but "most people of the English colonies were Protestants," page 87.) It is responsible for the implicit exclusion of Negroes from the "people of many countries"—the French, Scotch, Irish, Scotch-Irish and Germans are mentioned—who "move[d] to America's communities, seeking freedom and land" and who, "living together, beg[a]n to create American ways of life" partly through "marriage between people of different nationalities" (pages 92-4). Thus, "the melting pot" is endorsed while the most important element in the process is ignored and, thereby, implicitly disapprobated. Similarly, during Reconstruction "the people of the South found themselves opposing the governments of their own states" (page 426); this assertion is the more striking because the authors are usually careful to qualify, as in the unexceptionable assertion on the same page that Southern Republican Congressmen "did not truly represent the majority of the Southern people." One of the most unfortunate reflections of this exclusion of Negroes from the body national is the necessary and drastic depersonalization of Negroes. In the colonial period, while they are described as raising crops, working "as butlers, cooks, and gardeners" and "in shops," they are first introduced as one of "two different kinds of workers [who] were found [in order] to solve the labor shortage" (pages 72-3). After Eli Whitney invents the cotton gin, "slaves" are "owned" and "slave labor" is "depended upon" and "needed," but the slaves don't *do* anything (page 343). There is

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[1] Mabel B. Casner, Ralph H. Gabriel, Edward L. Biller, and William H. Hartley, *Story of the American Nation*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1962. This is a basic textbook for grade eight.

[2] Professor Jordan, a colonial historian, taught at Brown University and was a Fellow at the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia. He has written several articles on slavery and the Negro in colonial America, including "Modern Tensions and the Origins of American Slavery," *Journal of Southern History*, and "American Chiaroscuro: The Status and Definition of Mulattoes in the British Colonies," *William and Mary Quarterly*. He is the author of a forthcoming book to be entitled *White Over Black: The Development of American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550–1812*.

no description of life in slavery or of Negro resistance to it. The same tendency is evident with individual Negroes. Nat Turner (who "led a Negro rebellion in Virginia") is one of three individuals mentioned in a section describing Abolition (pages 309-10); the other two, Garrison and Yancey [sic], are listed in the index; Turner is not. Later, B. T. Washington "opened Tuskegee Institute" (page 431) and is admitted to the index. Finally, there is a picture with caption showing "Nkrumah of Ghana" speaking before the U.N. (page 683). These three and Dred Scott are the only individual Negroes so much as mentioned in the text itself. On the other hand, three others are the subjects of books listed as enjoyable for further reading. A biography of Harriet Tubman is noted as the story of an underground railroad conductor (whose color is not specified, page 319); Washington's *Up From Slavery* is a "description of a Negro boy's struggle and triumph" and "gives a good picture of Negro development after the war" (page 435); a book on Ralph Bunche is also included.

The second of the interrelated bases of approach is the felt necessity of avoiding any implication that *racial* differences have produced strains in American culture. This principle of avoidance concerns the Negro primarily and perhaps exclusively: witness the endorsement of racial pluralism and harmony in the section entitled "The population of Hawaii includes several races of people—all now United States citizens" (page 694). Sometimes the resultant faults are minor (relatively), as in the failure to indicate that the Spanish introduced Negro as well as Indian slavery (page 33) and in omission of the racial element in the proslavery argument (page 310). But this avoidance also results in omissions which produce serious distortion, as in the extended account of the Dred Scott decision where the court is presented as ruling that a slave was not a citizen while nothing is said of the court's decision on citizenship of Negroes (pages 391-2). For a time, during Reconstruction, especially when the Klan terrorizes "Negro voters" and "Southerners struck at the Negro" (page 428), Negroes as such —rather than as slaves (for there is no discussion of Negroes who were not)—became a *factor* in the story. But then, almost predictably, they simply drop from view, appearing neither as an issue nor as sharecroppers, much less as the targets of legislators or as migrants to Northern cities. They are finally resurrected, by implication rather than by name, in 1954 when the Supreme Court opines that the "segregation of races in the public schools" is "contrary to the Constitution." Just why this decision was made and why newspaper reporters had waited for it "for months" we are not told. Sectional differences in response to the decision are handled by reference to "Louisville" and "Baltimore" and "some communities." Still more remarkable is the ensuing discussion of two civil rights acts, in which "civil rights" are not described, the term *Negro* is not mentioned, and one waits until almost the end before the element of "race" is so much as referred to (pages 689-90). Finally, the recommendation of a biography of Ralph Bunche describes him as "raised in poverty and in the midst of ugly discrim-

ination" but does not identify him as a Negro (page 705). This reference to racial discrimination is the most direct in the book; it also seems to be the only one.

Tightly linked with unwillingness to acknowledge race as a factor in American history is an apparent subservience to Southern sensitivities on the subject. Indications turn up at every hand. Among them, in addition to many cited above, are the treatment of Abolition (the extent, motivation, and arguments of which are accorded less space than the Southern proslavery defense, pages 309-11), the incorrect suggestion that opposition to slavery began "in the early 1800's" (and therefore, by implication, had no connection with the founding of the nation and the ideals of the Revolution and the Founding Fathers, page 309), the literally invariable use of the ingenious "War Between the North and the South," and, inevitably, the unflattering presentation of the Radical Republicans.

Finally, the treatment of the Negro in this book is strongly colored by blandness, timidity, and an underlying determination to present life as pretty. In fact, of course, much of the Negro's experience in America has been far from pretty, and by implying otherwise this book distorts an important aspect of the American past.

The Story of American Democracy [1]

By Winthrop D. Jordan [2]

These remarks are merely by way of supplement to my report on the eighth grade textbook, *Story of the American Nation* (1962). The two books are substantially similar. Although the older book is used in the eleventh grade, it does not appear to be appreciably more sophisticated than the newer version; indeed the commercial publisher refers to the newer book as the "successor" of the older. While the newer book appears to be essentially an up-dated and more sprightly version of the older, there are important differences between the two in their treatment of the Negro which suggest that some of the newer book's deficiencies may have derived from an unwillingness to arouse certain Southern sensibilities.

Thus, though the older version is on most counts unsatisfactory in much the same ways as the newer, it includes several brief sections on the Negro which were altered or struck during revision. In contrast to the newer, it offers a picture of Crispus Attucks on a page headed "Patriots from Many Peoples" with the notation, "A Negro of Massachusetts, [who] was the first to die for American liberty" (page 133); a not unfavorable reference to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (page 358); the assertion that "As time passed, the Klan fell into the hands of men

[1] Mabel B. Casner and Ralph H. Gabriel, *The Story of American Democracy* (Third edition). New York: Harcourt, Brace, & Co., 1955. This is a high school textbook.

[2] See footnote 2 on page 19.

who used it for selfish purposes" (page 389); and a review question asking the student to think about "What changes have taken place in the South since the end of the war . . . in the lot of the Negro" (page 395). In the process of revision, too, the title of one chapter has been changed from "Americans Seek the Goal of Equal Opportunity" to "Americans Improve and Enrich Their Ways of Life." A section on ante-bellum theatre and music in the older book, which included a discussion of "Negro spirituals" summarized by the statement that "The Negroes made the first important contribution to American music" (pages 293-95, 297) has been discarded in the newer version. Gone (in the interests of factual accuracy?) is the statement *re* nullification, "In our day, nearly everybody accepts the power of the Supreme Court to decide whether or not a law is in accord with the Constitution" (page 273). Gone too is the categorical statement, "The democratic ideal of equality left no room for slavery. . . ." (page 297). Finally, the newer version contains nothing so explicit and forceful as the following: "For what is democracy but belief in the dignity of every individual human being, famous or unknown, whatever his color, race, or religion?" (pages 658-59).

All in all, one gains the impression that *The Story of American Democracy* provides a more satisfactory treatment of Negroes in American history than does *Story of the American Nation* (1962), but also that the older book is far from faultless in this respect since it contains so many of the defects which appear in the newly revised version.

Story of America[1]

By Robert L. Middlekauff[2]

This book contains few of the crudities that textbooks sometimes offer about Negroes. At times it shrinks before the tender sensibilities of the South, as, for example, in its elaborate explanation of why it refers to the Civil War as the "Civil War" ("The most common [name] but not the most correct") and as the "War Between the States" (page 211). It sometimes strives to be fair in treating controversal points either by maintaining a gray impartiality or by belaboring both sides (the true and the good, it seems to assume, in such cases, are always in the middle, halfway between the two sides). There are some striking omissions—the NAACP is not mentioned, nor are most Negro leaders in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and most court cases affecting Negro civil rights are ignored. And clumsy organization robs the book of some of its limited force (examples follow).

After saying all this, I would still say that this text is much better than several others I examined. Despite omissions it makes a serious attempt to trace a variety of Negro experiences. And in the process it shows that the Negro has suffered in America but it does not romanticize him.

Slavery

The book assumes that the origins of Negro slavery were solely economic: because land was cheap in the colonies and white labor expensive, it holds, Negroes were imported. This emphasis upon slavery as an economic institution is maintained throughout the book. There is no suggestion that slavery developed over a period of time until it was recognized in law in the 1660s nor is there a hint that the Negro's color contributed to his enslavement. (The book may intend to suggest that the unfree status of Negroes gradually hardened into slavery, for it refers to the human cargo of 1619 as "the first Negro servants," but thereafter it uses the word "slaves.") Slave life is ignored in the book, and nothing is said about the psychological and social effects of the institution.

In most places the treatment of slavery is factual, though no facts are given about broad areas of slavery. There is one admirable assessment of slavery: "The benefits of slavery were all on the side of the owners. As the anti-slavery speakers said, nobody ever asked to be a

[1] Ralph V. Harlow and Ruth Elizabeth Miller, *Story of America* (Revised edition). New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1957. This is a high school textbook.

[2] Professor Middlekauff taught colonial history at Yale University before joining the faculty of the University of California. As H. F. Brinton Fellow at Yale, he wrote a prize-winning dissertation which has been printed by Yale University Press as *Ancients and Axioms: Secondary Education in Eighteenth-Century New England.* Mr. Middlekauff is now engaged in research for an intellectual biography of New England's famed Mather family.

slave . . . [and, the text concludes] nothing could make up for loss of freedom. . . ." (page 130).

This passage occurs in a chapter on nineteenth century America. Nothing comparable is said about slavery in the colonial period. In fact, slavery in the colonial period is treated in a chapter that presents colonial life as one of unrestrained achivement. The colonial period is a period of progress, of material advance; plantations served colonial enterprise and slaves served on plantations. In this context, which exudes utilitarian values, slavery may appear to the uncritical reader as an eminently useful—and good—institution.

The account of the colonial period may lend itself to a second inference (perhaps incompatible with the one above). The tone of the discussion of the colonial period is one of relentless optimism. Colonial America was a going concern, as these section headings suggest: "Ability counted more than birth in America," "A sturdy middle class developed," "Colonists could better themselves," "Royal governors had a hard time." "Free American air" is contrasted with the stuff unfree Europe breathed. The setting is one described by Turner, and in it slavery by implication appears as an aberrant condition of relatively little importance. And although success is attributed in large part to American opportunity, at one point race is credited in a discussion of craftsmen like Benjamin Franklin—"men of good racial stock and ability" (page 29).

Abolition, Civil War, Reconstruction

Although the book's treatment of slavery is unsatisfactory, the worst of it may be cancelled out by the discussion of the antislavery movement. "Here," the discussion begins, "was a system (slavery) that denied all the values of the American system to millions of Americans. Slaves had no share in economic opportunity, no part in politics, no rights to education, and not much chance at moral improvement. Slavery was completely out of line with American ideals" (page 151). But in its account of the antislavery movement, the book gives the impression that it was unfortunate that anyone insisted too strenuously that these American ideals should be extended to Negroes. Moderate men who "tried to end slavery by appealing to the American sense of fair play" are contrasted favorably with abolitionists, "men who thought they could get results by making everybody angry" (page 152). To incite hatred was the intention of the abolitionists, according to the text. Although the text does not advocate the view attributed to the South—that "the real danger to the welfare of the United States came not from slavery, but from abolitionists"—it evidently admires a statement cited from Daniel Webster "that abolitionists accomplished nothing good or useful."

In a chapter heading the book makes obeisance to the argument that state rights "led to" the Civil War, but the substance of the chapter itself focuses on the problems of slavery, and especially the extension

of slavery into the territories. The book fails to discuss any aspect of the part of Negroes in the War.

Although the discussion of Reconstruction relays several bankrupt views, at one point implying, for example, that two disgruntled leaders, Sumner and Stevens, were largely responsible for postwar policy, for the most part it is detached and informed. It provides a detailed description of the "black codes," which are described as appearing as "slavery in disguise" (page 236); it points out that although Negroes held offices they never controlled the government of any state; it shows that Congress attempted to protect Negroes and to elevate their social status; and it suggests that the motives of the Radical Republicans were mixed and included a desire to aid Negroes in the South. The treatment of the Ku Klux Klan is less than satisfactory, implying in a muddy passage that the "Fourteenth Amendment" forced Southerners to create it. Its terrorist activities are described, however.

The New South

The Negro's position in the "New South" is rendered in detail and with considerable sensitivity. The book probably overemphasizes the extent to which Negroes participated in the wealth of the New South. But it is more perceptive in its treatment of the denial of equality to Negroes. ("Southern whites refused to admit Negroes to any kind of equality," page 250). The repressive techniques employed to maintain white supremacy are catalogued; the failure to observe the Fourteenth Amendment is described; and Jim Crow laws are listed. A striking passage penetrates the basis of the surface harmony in Southern life. "White families employed Negro servants and nurses, and the relationship was kindly and pleasant on both sides—provided always that no one raised the issue of equality. White people patronized the shops and stores Negroes ran, provided only whites were served. Negro clergymen, doctors, lawyers, and teachers worked only among their own people. If Negroes made no attempt to change this system, there was usually no trouble" (page 251).

Twentieth Century Negroes

Negroes are scanted in the second half of the text; and there is no recognition of the importance of post-Civil War racial conflict. With the exception of Jack Johnson and Joe Louis, the boxers, no Negro is mentioned nor are Negro problems noted until post-World War II America is treated. The problems Negroes faced in getting a living in the postwar period are only acknowledged. Negro sharecroppers are singled out as a deprived group, and the text notes that President Truman's Civil Rights Commission reported "that a good many Americans still found their color, their religion, or their national origin a barrier to bettering their social and economic positions." Civil rights, the text suggests, remained a crucial issue.

Finally, the Brown Case *(Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, 1954)* gets adequate treatment in the book. The decision is briefly de-

scribed and Southern resistance is noted. Unfortunately, the Brown case is treated without any reference to earlier Court cases; and the discussion fails to mention either the court's contention that separate facilities are inherently unequal or its use of sociological data.

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